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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
**INFORMATION REPORT**

COUNTRY Poland

SUBJECT Incomes of Unskilled vs. White Collar Workers/Monthly  
Income and Typical Working Day of the Financial Manager  
of the Piaszow Brick Factory

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Collector's Note: This report should be compared with [redacted] on  
the monthly budget and typical working day of an unskilled worker in Krakow.

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1. "The following information dates through [redacted] and is based on experience  
in Krakow.
2. Income of Skilled vs. Unskilled Labor  
"The difference between the living conditions in Krakow of an average laborer  
and of a skilled worker is not too great. A skilled worker earns a little more,  
that is from 1000 zlotys to 1500 zlotys per month. He can provide better for  
his family, but the purchase of clothes and other things is out of the question.  
The difference lies in the fact that a skilled worker is paid in proportion to  
the work he does. He must fulfill and exceed norms, otherwise he does not re-  
ceive production premiums which are the determining factor in his wages.
3. "Factory workers are more 'amenable' to the socialist discipline of the PZPR  
(Polish CP) and of the trade unions. Factories are restricted areas. There-  
fore it is easy to conduct various activities with skilled factory workers, as  
a drive for cooperation between city and village, or a drive for political in-  
doctrination drive. The workers are frequently used for community work, and it

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is easier to detect the "enemy element" (workers who dare to have opinions other than those demanded by the Party and Union authorities). Depending upon circumstances, it is easier to impose production commitments.

4. "Skilled workers receiving a monthly salary in excess of 1000 zloty pay greater taxes from their salaries than unskilled workers and have greater deductions for social benefits including kindergartens, reading rooms, and nurseries. They make greater contributions toward vacations, and the like. Taking the above into consideration, the difference between the gross salary of a skilled worker and an unskilled worker may be considerable but after deductions the net salary is very small.

Security Restrictions

5. "Workers, upon leaving their restricted factories and plants, are searched by armed factory guards who are concerned basically with the prevention of theft. However, the workers know many tricks and the factory guards cannot do much about it. (State Tobacco Monopoly, cigarette producer in Czyzyna, scores of thousands of cigarettes are taken out daily through 'channels.' Meat used to be carried out from the municipal slaughter-house in Krakow by drivers of the passenger cars used by inspectors).

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Paper Work of Foreman

6. "If a skilled worker becomes employed as a foreman, he must fill out work sheets for workers subordinate to him. He must see that the norms are fulfilled and coordinate these matters with the offices of planning and production. The work sheet gives the hour and minute a worker appears at work, his working period in hours, the quantity of work fulfilled, the quality of work fulfilled, and the percentage of norm. The foreman signs the work sheet of every worker and is responsible for its accuracy. The foreman also fills out reports on attendance (for the factory's department of work discipline) and on production (for the factory's production department). He checks his data against the work sheets (for the work and wages department).

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7. [REDACTED] the foreman was paid as a white collar worker and performed office duties.
8. "Most foremen are partial to paper work, and not all of the data corresponds to fact. At least the figures are supposed to be correct.

Monthly Income of Typical White Collar Worker

9. "Jerzy Dunajewski is 38 years old and has a master's degree. He lives at No. 8 Długa Street, Krakow. He is a lawyer and is employed as Manager of Finance in the accounting department of the Księgowosci-Cegielni Plaszow (Plaszow Brick Factory). He subleases one room, which was assigned to him by the Wojewodztwo Housing Commission.
10. "He has had much trouble in keeping this room. The lowest echelon of the Housing Authority decided that Dunajewski was occupying a room which was too large for him. He occupies 30 square meters but is only entitled to 10 square meters. In view of this, he was ordered to move into another room in the same cooperative building. His original room was assigned to the family of an official of the MO (Milicja Obywatelska-Citizens' Militia). Dunajewski defended his rights. The second court of the Wojewodztwo Housing Office granted him the disputed room. He was very happy about this. However, one housing inspection drive was initiated in Krakow. The block committees drew up specifications on space. [REDACTED] One thing is certain. After a list of all living quarters in Krakow has been prepared, Dunajewski's room will be endangered.

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11. "Dunajewski's income per month reaches 1,180 zlotys. This is basic salary, plus ingrade supplement, plus 40 per cent premium, minus deduction of tax on income of unmarried and childless individuals (bachelor tax), minus one per cent for the rebuilding of Warsaw, and minus one per cent contribution to the Credit Union.
12. "Dunajewski receives his salary on the last day of each month from the office of the Plaszow Brick Factory.
13. "Trade union dues are one per cent of the gross salary, which amounts to 13 zlotys. Membership dues of the Liga Przyjaciol Ziornierza (League of Friends of Servicemen) amount to two zlotys; membership dues of the Towarzystwo Przyjazni Polsko-Radzieckiej (Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship), also amount to two zloty. Total membership dues amount to 17 zlotys.
14. "Monthly payments for living quarters include nine zlotys for rent, 42 zlotys for utilities, and 40 zlotys for fuel. Total: 91 zlotys.
15. "Dunajewski's monthly trolley pass costs 10.50 zlotys. His monthly railroad pass on the Trasa Krakow-Plaszow line cannot cost more than 10 zlotys (I do not remember that exact price of the ticket). Total monthly transportation expenses amount to 20.50 zlotys.
16. "Dinners in a second class restaurant do not cost less than 15 zlotys per meal; Dunajewski's monthly dinner bill amounts to 450 zlotys. Suppers in a second class restaurant do not cost less than 10 zlotys; his monthly supper bill amounts to 300 zlotys. Pork cutlet, cabbage, and potatoes cost only 11.30 zlotys in a second class restaurant. A small cup of genuine black coffee cost 3.75 zlotys. Ten zlotys is the minimum cost for a supper. His breakfasts, which are cooked at home, cost him 200 zlotys per month; His monthly food expenses amount to 950 zlotys.
17. "Laundry done in the 'Teczka' Cooperative Laundry costs approximately 40 zlotys per month. Haircuts, soap, toothpaste etc. cost 50 zlotys. Total personal expenses for the month amount to 90 zlotys.
18. "Thus, Dunajewski's housing, transportation, food, and miscellaneous expenses for personal care for one month amount to 1,168.50 zlotys. After paying these expenses, Dunajewski has 11.50 zlotys remaining out of his entire paycheck. This is not even sufficient to buy two large cups of real coffee. (If one does not specify real coffee, then one has reference to 'Kneip' coffee.)
19. "Shoe repairs are out of the question. To pay the shoemaker, Dunajewski must forego supper for six days. Even if he were to exclude the necessities he could not afford to buy shoes, underwear or clothes.
20. "People are selling everything they possess that is of value to Consignment Stores. These stores are full of gold ornaments, watches, footwear, clothes, and other commodities. The best stores in Krakow are those where people sell their valuables (things which today might be considered a luxury in Poland) in order to get money to buy articles of daily necessity.

Average Working Day of Typical White Collar worker

21. "Dunajewski's average workday begins at 0530 hours. He bathes, shaves with a German razor blade costing 4 zlotys (Polish razors are not very good). There are times when one cannot get razor blades, and therefore it is reasonable for one to shave a few times with one razor blade and if the razor dulls, to sharpen it on a strap.
22. "Dunajewski does not eat breakfast at home in the mornings because it would take too much time. He must leave the house by 0600 hours in order to get to work on time.

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23. "The trolleys in the morning are usually congested. One may ride on numbers 7 and 3, that is from Długa Street to the Krakow station where a train leaves for Płaszów at 0624 hours. Chances are that Dunajewski will not be able to get on the first trolley because it is overcrowded. Frequently he has to walk to the station with his trolley pass in his pocket. Sometimes the trolleys do not run, and if it is physically impossible to catch a trolley he is stuck. There are never any vacant seats on the train, but this is unimportant. The important thing is to get on the train and to be on one's way. Tardiness for work is excused if it is not the fault of the worker, but if a white collar worker is late, he must present a written excuse with proof that the trolleys were not running. Such proof cannot be obtained because the Miejskie Przedsiębiorstwo Komunikacyjne (Municipal Transportation Enterprise) does not issue such certificates. This is completely understandable because the Enterprise would have to open a special office where such certificates could be obtained. Transportation interruptions occur frequently, and every passenger going to work must submit a reasonable excuse to his firm. There is only one alternative left for the worker, and that is to leave the house one half hour earlier and not depend on the uncertain services of the Transportation Enterprise.
24. "Dunajewski rushes from the train to the brick factory. When leaving the station he shows his monthly pass. Upon entrance to the brick factory he gives his time card to the doorkeeper who writes in the time of the worker's arrival.
25. "Then Dunajewski prepares himself for the day's work. His work is of a responsible and difficult nature because the Płaszów Brick Factory is a deficit Enterprise (there are many such enterprises): financial discipline prevails; the planned loss limit cannot be exceeded, there is never any money in the account. For example, one of the two telephones in the brick factory, the secretariat's, has been out of order for two months. It was disconnected by the post office because it fell behind in payments. Naturally, nothing can be done about it. A voucher for the transfer of funds is sent to the bank where in due course it will be attended to. The post office may wait a half year for payment. There are many payments to be made to suppliers and service organizations, but there are few accounts receivable. The Director of Finance is responsible for the financial matters of the Enterprise and must enforce all financial regulations, above all, 'financial discipline' and regulations on check payments. He cannot, however, cause stoppages in production, or cause administrative difficulties. Anyone who has not worked in a deficit enterprise under the socialist-communist regime will ever understand these matters. Dunajewski is called to the telephone repeatedly during the day. The following is more or less the typical conversation:

'Cooperative Metallic Works; the bookkeeping department. This is the chief bookkeeper calling in reference to account number 1025 for the sum of 2,324 zlotys. Listen my friend, we cannot wait longer than half a year. We sent the bill for the account to the Bank over two months ago...'

'What can I do about this. The bank assigns money to cover bills, and bills are paid consecutively. We are a deficit enterprise...'

'After all, the interest is constantly growing. I shall call the bank. I too, do not have money on account and bills lie unpaid in the bank. We shall fulfill your order only and as quickly as your pay for our account. Goodbye!'

Dunajewski is so accustomed to these conversations that they do not bother him in the least. However, the matter is serious. Every payment of wages is nerve-racking. Sometimes the payment is delayed a few days because of lack of cash or because the bank has delayed the payroll cash because a financial report has not been submitted on time.

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26. "People complain. A new director is appointed in the brick factory every few months, and every one is worse. A worker who has no idea of production, administration, or financial matters, may become the next director of the brick factory. All that matters is that he be a CP member and have 'backing' in the Party. The brick factory is managed by the first secretary of the POP (Podstawowa Organizacja Partyjna-Primary Party Organization) who has completed four grades of high school, the Personnel Manager who has completed three grades of primary school, the Chairman of the Factory Council who has completed six grades of primary school, and by the Director who has completed seven grades of primary school.
27. "The following are responsible for the proper management of the brick factory: the Director, the Chief Bookkeeper or Financial Manager, and the Manager of Planning and Statistics. Since the director is literally changed every few months and everyone does something more foolish, basically, the entire responsibility falls on the Financial Manager. There is a saying in Poland that it is best to avoid management positions since otherwise one has one foot always in jail. It is true that a law on individual responsibility at factories was passed recently. But the law does not say that an individual responsible for the factory can direct the factory in his own way. The factory is directed 'collectively', and since the entire 'collective' cannot be put into prison (in due time all Party comrades would find themselves behind bars) one person is charged with the responsibility. As a result, candidates for management positions are few. Generally, they are people who possess 'wide backing' of many acquaintances. These people are very cautious with their signatures. They sign only 'sure matters, already bearing four different signatures. 'It is always better to sit in jail among friends'. They carefully watch whether every scrap of paper is signed by all the so-called 'social authorities' of the enterprise: the First Secretary of POP, the chairman of the Factory Council, and on matters of personnel, the Personnel Manager.
28. "Personnel matters were being handled in such a chaotic and slovenly manner that the authorities were forced to organize a new system for handling employment matters. An office of Employment and Wages was set up in 1951-1952 in every Polish factory. The manager of this office must be a suitable individual (if at all possible, a Party member), but attention is placed primarily upon education. This is understandable, since Personnel Managers generally used to hire and fire people according to whim, not rule. They did not have the slightest understanding of collective agreements, and set wage rates arbitrarily. When a worker is hired under the present system, the Personnel Manager and the Manager of Employment and Wages of the enterprise determine the job slot to be filled. There are penalties for hiring in excess of job slots. The second step is to determine the worker's wages. Penalties are incurred for exceeding the planned wage fund. Moreover, the bank does not issue sums in excess of the planned payroll. The Personnel Manager cannot dismiss or hire a worker without the knowledge of the Director and of the Factory Council. If the Director and the Personnel Manager hire a white collar worker not covered by wage fund, the Manager of Employment and Wages is not responsible. The Director and Personnel Manager may have to pay the worker's salary out of their own pockets.
29. "Bureaucracy is an equally great plague at the Piaszaw Brick Factory. Before a worker can have a requisition for protective clothing filled by the storeroom, he must obtain the signature of the foreman, of the clerk in charge of Industrial Safety and Hygiene, of the Director, and of the Supply Manager (in that proper order). The clerk in charge of Industrial Safety and Hygiene will not sign the requisition if the signature of the foreman does not appear on it. The Director and the Supply Manager will not sign if the other two signatures do not appear on the requisition. It is not surprising that the worker loses several hours in obtaining protective clothing from the storeroom.

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30. "At 1100 hours or earlier, Dunajewski (provided he is not very busy) eats his breakfast. Tea is made in the office by one of the workers or is brought in. Dunajewski keeps sugar in his desk. He brings in bread, butter and sausage prepared at home the day before. He can never eat his breakfast without being disturbed. Either the Director will call him regarding essential financial matters, or the telephone will ring (on the bill three months in arrears), or some worker is dismissed and comes in to get a signature. Deadlines, reports, conferences, and fantastic disorder to drive one mad.
31. "At 1230 hours the secretary hands him a telegram which reads: 'Draw up report on the intra-plant flow of materials for the previous month. Due date giving prices tomorrow at 1500 in Warsaw. It is necessary to send a special worker with this report.' Immediately Dunajewski must contact the Supply Manager, who protests that a long production conference is scheduled and will drag on to 2100 hours at the least. He protests that they put in overtime nearly every day. There is no compensation for overtime because the permission of the Inspector of Work is necessary and, also the factory cannot exceed the wage fund. Dunajewski tries to persuade his secretary to work late, saying he will enter her name for a reward as soon as possible. 'If the report is not done, we will lose our premium, that is, 30 per cent of your salary [secretary's] and 40 per cent of my salary [Financial Manager's]'. The secretary retorts that those who receive premiums are the favorites of the director or Personnel Manager. And what good is 100 or 150 zlotys for one half year spent working overtime practically every day. Dunajewski can only answer that he works overtime too. He now goes to the Supply Office and tells the manager that he must immediately get to work on the material flow for the previous month. The manager protests he must finish a report on demurrage due the day before. Dunajewski emphasizes that the other report is due in Warsaw the next day and must be done if the factory is to get its premium. The Supply Manager says he must sign an order for him to postpone the report on demurrage, delay of which also means loss of premium. He would prefer to become a digger-at least there would be no reports.
32. "As for changing jobs, while there are no longer any restrictions on leaving one's job (the law on labor turnover has died out) it is very difficult to find an administrative job. It would be nonsense for Dunajewski to go to a bookkeeping office of another firm because conditions everywhere are the same.
33. "At 1500 hours the bookkeepers send someone out to the cooperative store to buy something to eat. They will be staying late at the conference on production. The Director opens the conference on production:
- 'White brick, Grade I, is sold at 156 zlotys per 100 bricks.
  - 'White brick, Grade II, is not being produced by us at this time.
  - 'White brick, Grade III, is sold at 74 zlotys per 100 bricks (halves).
  - 'White brick of the facing brick type is sold at 254 zlotys per 100 bricks.
- 'Our chief concern is to sort the bricks in such a way as to obtain the most facing bricks and to eliminate the half bricks. Naturally, we can slip a certain percentage of half bricks into the cars. I do not believe that this would cause claims on the part of the consumer. A certain number of bricks always get damaged in shipment. We have exceeded the deficit limit and we are in a critical situation.

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I would like to hear your opinion on this subject.' (This Director is "new". He has worked at the factory for one month and is the first director with secondary school education. He possesses administrative office experience and a little energy.)'

The first secretary of the POP (a worker with many years of experience) says that the Director is right. Attention must be paid to the workers who load the bricks on the cars. They are the ones who cause the rejects and damage the bricks by careless loading. The Chairman of the Factory Council interrupts; he is the foreman for transportation. Women work on the loading job. When a woman carries six to seven bricks in her hands continuously for over eight hours back and forth, you cannot expect her to suspect what she is carrying and to sort the bricks.' The Director now puts the responsibility on the quality inspector, who should catch the rejects. The POP Secretary says such matters are the responsibility of the production technician. The production technician protests that he 'cannot' upgrade the Grade III brick to Grade I and the Grade I brick to the facing brick.' He cannot permit the loading of half bricks into cars as the Director indicates, because in that way a considerable number of bricks are damaged.' He will not sign anything that does not agree with the facts. 'We are supposed to be fighting for better quality production.' The Director contradicts that they are likewise fighting for quantity of production and for decrease of costs.' The discussion became an argument on lack of responsibility, bureaucracy, the lack of socialist attitude, and on directives. From 1500 to 2130 hours the debate continues and they have not yet finished. As Danajewski excuses himself to finish his report, he hears the director telling the secretary not to record everything in the minutes.

34. "After having tea, rolls and cheese Danajewski and his secretary begin their work. All prices of articles purchased during the previous month must be listed and checked. The report is finished at 2305 hours. Everything must be put away, labelled, sealed, in accordance with the law on official and state secrets.

35. "Danajewski catches the train at 2325 from Piaszaw to Krakow. Trolleys run every half hour at night, and, commuter trolley passes are not accepted. One must pay cash for the ride. Danajewski prefers to walk. He goes in a restaurant across the street from the Juliusz Slowacki Theater and orders a pork cutlet and beer, some gelatin and cherries. The bill is 26.30 zlotys.

36. "He returns to a cold and untidy room since there is no one there to heat and clean the place. He does this himself. His working clothes are soiled from loading coal. (On the Anniversary of the October Revolution the white collar workers of the factory had to unload coal cars because of a threatening stoppage). It takes at least six weeks for the cleaners to clean clothes (cleaning costs approximately 35 zlotys) which means that Danajewski will have to wear his Sunday suit to work. He hopes he will not have to take on an obligation to unload cement. He has a lot of volunteer work because he is not a member of the Party. He is a shop steward of the trade union, secretary of the Athletic Chapter, and a Treasurer of the Factory Council. Recently, he had to go with a delegation to Poronin to place a wreath at the foot of the statue of Lenin. He was sent by the Factory Council to attend a course for the members of the Factory Council for a few days in Warsaw. Yet his regular work must always be done. He does not dare open his mouth because he is employed in an important position. His salary is quite high and he does not have any special obligations (he was never an owner of a factory, store, or other profit organization). He does not have to pay any windfall taxes. He does not have any dependents, and therefore no cause for complaint. Others have it worse."

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